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THE STUDENTS' SERIES

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TOWN LIFE IN ANCIENT ITALY

A TRANSLATION OF
PROFESSOR LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER'S
"STÄDTEWESEN IN ITALIEN IM
ERSTEN JAHRHUNDERT"

BY

WILLIAM E. WATERS
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

Professor Friedländer's "Städtewesen in Italien im ersten jahrhundert," of which the following pages are a translation, first appeared in the *Deutsche Rundschau* in 1879. It reappeared in his edition of the "Cena Trimalchionis" of Petronius, published in 1891. It has seemed to me that such a brief, and, at the same time broad, treatment of the life in the Italian municipia as he has given in this essay is of value and interest for the student, not only of Petronius, but of other Latin authors of the silver period also, as Seneca, Juvenal, Pliny, Tacitus, Martial, Persius. Even to the student of mediæval life in Italian republics it is not without interest. The discussion in these pages rests entirely upon the evidence which is furnished or suggested by the literature and inscriptions of the period of which it treats, as is attested by the numerous footnotes. Much is brought together in succinct form which can be found in Friedländer's "Darstellungen," but as a rule only after considerable searching. In view of the recognized scholarship of all that Professor Friedländer has written, and the general interest which his pictures of Roman customs have created, I take pleasure in placing this translation — with his permission — before the public.

WILLIAM E. WATERS.

New York,
February, 1902.

TOWN LIFE IN ANCIENT ITALY

1

Appearance and Condition of the Towns

THE traveller in ancient Italy was made aware of his gradual approach to some city within his route by the appearance of suburban villas, gardens, and the monuments erected to the memory of the dead. Since it was the custom of residents of Rome to spend the heated portion of the year in the country if possible, it was but natural to find, in such regions as were unusually salubrious or famed for the beauty of their location, not merely the villas of ordinary citizens of means, but also the palaces of Roman senators and even those of the emperors. Indeed, the rich and powerful went so far as to possess three or four villas so situated as to be adapted each for the enjoyment of a particular season of the year.[1]

The parks and gardens enclosing these villas were beautified with fountains and statues, and surrounded

[1] Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, 6th ed., I. 246 f.; II. 107 f.; III. 100 f.; Mommsen, *Hermes*, XIII. p. 115.

by walls and clipped hedges which were set here and there with many trees gracefully pruned. Doubtless the parks and gardens of modern Italy are much like them.[1] Many trees and plants, however, which we consider to be characteristic of Italy, such as the lemon and the orange, were either not known at all in that country at the beginning of our era, or but slightly. Pears and apricots were then just being introduced. By the year 30 A.D. the pistachio was being cultivated; and at the time of the destruction of Pompeii, the melons from the gardens of Campania were rousing the interest of many a botanist, and giving a new zest to lovers of fancy gardening.[2]

There might be found, around any of the larger cities, a considerable stretch also of kitchen gardens, whence noisome odors frequently rose; for underground conduits brought refuse to them from the great sewers of the city.[3] That, as a matter of fact, gardening, as well as the keeping and housing of farm animals, was possible only outside the limits of the city is shown in the case of Pompeii,[4] for in the excavation of the city there has been found but a small number of skeletons of animals. Otherwise,

[1] Friedländer, II. 267 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, III. 61.

[3] *Ibid.*, III. 170.

[4] In the twelve years from 1861 through 1872, besides 93 human skeletons, there were found 3 of dogs, 7 of horses, 11 of chickens, 2 of turtles, and 1 of a pig; see Nissen, *Pompeian. Stud.*, p. 571.

a large number of animals, with the possible exception of so fleet-footed a creature as the dog, might be found to have perished in that catastrophe. In other suburban gardens of this description, large quantities of lilies, roses, and violets [1] were cultivated, and particularly the common gilliflower and the wallflower, either for the manufacture of perfumes [2] or for decoration. The ancient Romans were specially fond of these and a few other varieties of flowers, and used them freely for garlands, for strewing couches and floors, and for ornamenting the house on festive occasions. They were also used in decorating graves.

The olive groves, vineyards, orchards, and kitchen gardens often furnished, not only the markets of the nearest city, but also those more distant. Pompeii, for example, exported wine, cabbages, figs and onions.[3] The principal food of the people consisted of vegetables and preparations made from wheat, which came generally from Africa and Egypt; while wine was the universal drink, and oil took the place of butter, since this latter was employed only as a medicine.[4]

The monuments to the dead, which we have named as the third evidence which apprised the ancient

[1] Friedl., III. 110; II. 284 ff.

[2] Blümner, *Gewerbliche Thätigkeit der Völker des klassischen Alterthums*, p. 116; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, XIII. 26; Martial, 9, 60, 4.

[3] Nissen, *Pompeian. Stud.*, p. 267; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 14.

[4] Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, I. 328, 2.

traveller of his approach to some town, were also surrounded with garden plots. These were not only outside the city, therefore, but were on both sides of the highway.[1] In the special acts of many municipalities the burial of the dead within the city walls was permitted, in violation of the general law. Eventually, however, Hadrian issued a rescript prohibiting all intramural burials.[2]

Mid such surroundings, then, one would pass through a suburb occupied by people of the lower class, such as muleteers[3] and peddlers, and reach one of the gates of the city proper. Cities, however, which in earlier times had been securely fortified were now open. Since Rome had become mistress of the world and universal peace seemed within grasp, there was no thought of any peril threatening Italy, the very heart and home of the government. Strong ramparts (and even Pompeii had them) appeared, therefore, to be useless, and they were torn down wherever they hindered the expanding life and commerce of the city. In Pompeii, for the entire distance from the Forum Triangulare to the Porta Herculanea, the walls were actually displaced by three-story houses.[4]

[1] Petronius, *Satiræ*, 62 : venimus intra monumenta; Friedl., *Sittengeschichte*, III. 771.

[2] Ulpian, *Digg.*, XLVII. 12, 395.

[3] Friedl., *ibid.*, I. 73, 1.

[4] Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*, p. 42.

The streets resembled those of modern oriental cities; there were those with shops and those without them.[1] The latter were of the better class, as, for example, the so-called Street of Mercury, in Pompeii, with its row of imposing houses, and well described as the Strada della Signoria.[2] These streets were pervaded with a deathlike stillness. There was nothing like the line of front windows which we are wont to feel as an essential feature in the exterior of modern houses. To walk through such a street was like passing along old-fashioned garden walls, relieved only now and then by a closed door. It was only in the upper stories that windows were occasionally seen; but even they were too frequently concealed behind wooden shutters and projecting balconies.[3] As for Roman residences, the rule was to build about an inner court, through which all the required light was furnished, a style of building which survives nowhere else in Europe save in the patios of Seville. There were, therefore, on the ground floor, no windows which looked upon the street, while in the upper stories they were isolated and irregular. It was with the discovery of the white transparent glass, which was made in France about 1330 A.D., that the style of house building was completely though gradually changed; with this came

[1] Overbeck-Mau, p. 57. [2] Nissen, *ibid.*, p. 544.
[3] Nissen, p. 28; Overbeck-Mau, p. 266.

the change in the appearance of the front of the houses, and of course of the streets themselves.[1] Yet, although in Germany glass windows came into use in private houses as early as the sixteenth century, they were seen in Italy much later. Even in the eighteenth century, in the largest cities like Florence and Milan, openings for windows were often simply pasted over with paper.

However lonely and quiet the residence streets were in the cities of Italy, when one entered the business streets he found plenty of noise and bustle.[2] Here the walls of the ground floor were everywhere concealed behind all kinds of little structures, which opened directly on the street and gave the passer-by a full view of their interior, in case the screens were not lowered. These structures were used as stores, workshops, places of business, and restaurants.[3] It was here that the proprietor, in loose tunic, sold his wares to his customers over the solid stone counter; here artisans sat upon their low stools and toiled at their trades, in cap and apron; here the common people took their meals in cook shops, and drank their cup of wine poured from a bottle which was chained to a column; here, also, barbers shaved their customers, almost beneath the eyes of passers-by; and it was to the physician's and to the barber's

[1] Nissen, 597.
[2] Overbeck-Mau, 57 and 376 ff.
[3] Friedl., I. 10.

shop that men strolled for idle conversation, as they still do to-day[1] about the druggist's in some of the smaller towns of Italy.

The streets were comparatively narrow; and on account of the better shade thus afforded, there was undoubtedly an advantage in their narrowness.[2] In Pompeii the five principal streets are straight, but not quite eight metres wide. There are narrower ones about half as wide, while the narrowest, mere alleys, are about two and a half to three metres wide.[3] Yet, in spite of this narrowness, and the still greater contraction caused by building out into the street, as described above, the crowding was not so dangerous as it is, for instance, in the Toledo at Naples. For, in the first place, the streets had sidewalks whose combined width, in Pompeii, equalled that of the portion meant for vehicles;[4] in the second place, horseback riding and driving for business or pleasure were forbidden except at the closing hours of the day, when the traffic ceased to be active. Travellers therefore very often passed through the cities at night.[5] The streets were everywhere well laid, and, if possible, with lava blocks, as in Pompeii, which has almost a million square feet of lava paving.[6] The portion of the street

[1] Friedl., I. 420, 7.
[2] Tacitus, *Annales*, XV. 43.
[3] Nissen, 544, 567; Overbeck-Mau, 58; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, 221.
[4] Overbeck-Mau, 58.
[5] Friedl., I. 73 f.
[6] Nissen, 523.

intended for wagons was laid with blocks which fitted quite closely. In the Middle Ages (excluding work of the Arabs in Spain) street paving was first undertaken in Palermo.[1] This was before 1000 A.D. It was about the end of the twelfth century that it was begun in Paris, whence it spread very slowly into the cities of Middle and Northern Europe. Dresden began to pave its streets in the sixteenth century, and Berlin not before the seventeenth.[2] Street lighting, on the other hand, was just as little known in antiquity as in the Middle Ages. At night, the front stores were closed with wooden shutters, which were made doubly secure by bolts and chains.[3] Very often the owners slept in their stores; sometimes in rooms directly over, which were rented from the proprietors of the houses of which the stores formed the front.[4] In Pompeii, houses with more than one upper story were an exception.[5] They were also the exception probably in the majority of the cities of Italy. Such reasons as prevailed in Rome for building houses with numerous upper stories — as the high value of the ground and the steady increase in population — could

[1] Hartwig, *Aus Sicilien*, 1869, II. 158. After Cordova, which Abderrhaman II. had paved about 850 A.D., Palermo appears to have been the first city of Europe in which, according to Ibn Haukal, at least the principal street was paved with stone slabs before the year 1000 A.D. [2] Nissen, 517; Friedl., III. 25, 3.
[3] Juvenal, III. 303 f. [4] Overbeck-Mau, 376 ff.; Friedl., I. 66.
[5] Nissen, 377; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 239 f.

prevail in other cities only in exceptional instances, if at all.

The principal streets led from the gates of the city to its central point, the Forum, which was often both public square and market. It was laid with broad slabs, and surrounded by the most beautiful public buildings, with their graceful columns, — such as the basilica and the temples, — and richly graced with statues, often of deserving citizens. The Forum was also entirely free from vehicles of all kinds.

The walls of the houses were frequently covered with various advertisements. These were done in vermilion, in Pompeii. Rome alone possessed any such medium of communication as a daily paper. It was the custom in that city to publish daily upon a white bulletin board an official report of such local news as was of general interest. Numerous copies of the same were carried into every portion of the empire, and were read with curiosity in the provinces, and often awaited with great eagerness,[1] since men followed with keenest interest what occurred in the capital. This Roman *Daily Advertiser* must have had its subscribers in all the cities of Italy, who undoubtedly imitated the fashions and manners of Rome. In the absence of local newspapers of any kind, the walls of houses, and even tombs, were used like fences

[1] Hübner, *De senatus populique Romani actis.* See also Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, pp. 475–479.

to-day, for the posting of notices.[1] The owners had apparently no right to prevent this; they could only give warning. This they did by formal notice, or by painting two snakes, which represented the protecting spirits of the house, and were meant to prevent all disfigurement of it. The writing of these notices and advertisements was a regular trade. In Pompeii, those that were put up in the last years of the city show, by the similarity of the handwriting, that they were the work of one and the same person. There were notices about coming performances in the theatre, of houses to rent, of stolen goods; but almost all that have been found are appeals for votes and endorsements of candidates for public offices.

Between thirteen and fourteen hundred of these have thus far been copied[2] from the walls of Pompeii. The majority of them date from the last years of Pompeii, and are concerned with the election of ædiles, since the duties of these officials, corresponding with those of a modern board of police, touched the interest of the lower class in a very vital way. There were also endorsements of a general nature, describing the candidates as honorable, or highly honorable, or worthy, young men. But some were

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), IV.; Kiessling, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1872, 57 ff.; Overbeck-Mau, 468 ff.; Willems, *Les élections municipales à Pompeii*, in the *Bulletin de l'Académie de Belgique*, 1886, 51–190. This last is printed in separate form.

[2] Willems, *ibid.*, p. 54. See, however, Mau-Kelsey, chs. lv.–lvii.

more to the point, as: "Vote for Gaius Iulius Polybius, he provides fine bread." "Vote for Bruttius Balbus [for duumvir], he will manage the city treasury well." These appeals are signed, not only by individual voters, but sometimes by women as well; and by persons acting in groups also, as for instance, by a merchant "with his creditors," or by a master workman "with his apprentices." Often they are signed by clubs, guilds and societies. Thus we incidentally derive some understanding of the importance of various kinds of organizations in the life of the city. We find that, during the excitement over elections in Pompeii, such men as these were interested: members of the union of wood sellers, of salt workers, donkey drivers, porters, dyers, fullers, dealers in dry goods, in drugs, in fruits; also the union of bakers, hotel keepers, barbers, goldsmiths; a ball team also figures, as well as two religious brotherhoods, — the worshippers of Isis and of Venus. The patron goddess of Pompeii was Venus, and it is even officially called the "Venus city." The organizations mentioned were probably religious in their origin, each maintaining the worship of some special deity, just as in the Middle Ages certain guilds honored patron saints. It seems, too, that in the cities of Italy, "young men's clubs," or "clubs of the youth," were very common, whose patron god was often Hercules.[1]

[1] Henzen-Orelli, III. Indic., p. 173, under *cultores Herculis.*

Their games are mentioned frequently, and may have belonged to the most attractive of the popular amusements. These associations, moreover, had festival days, and marched in procession, when undoubtedly the images of the patron deities were carried.[1]

The entire matter of club organization was strictly regulated, the special consent of the emperor or the senate being necessary. From all appearances, this was given sparingly, and with great caution. Associations for defraying funeral expenses might, however, be formed among the poor without this consent, and doubtless existed everywhere.[2] In many cities there were clubs of veterans, who had grown gray in years of service on the Rhine or on the Euphrates, and had returned to spend the remainder of their days in their native homes.[3]

II

Municipal Government

Under the empire the form of government in the municipia was essentially what it had been in the republican period.[4] At first the cities retained the

[1] Friedl., I. 307, 2. [2] Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, III. 140 ff.

[3] Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum*, II. Indic., p. 636, *Veterani.*

[4] On this and the following *cf.* Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung* I. 132–208; and the section *Res municipales* in the Indices of the *CIL*, X. 2 and XIV.; Henzen-Orelli, *Indices*, 150 ff., and Wilmanns, p. 611.

fullest freedom in self-government. They retained the right of electing their own officers, even after other rights were lost, although it practically came to amount to a mere approval of the choice made by the council of the municipality.[1] The elections occurred regularly year after year, and the political excitement they created, however much they might seem like a tempest in a teapot, did in reality, at least in the earlier time, stir up the people in the profoundest way. In Pisa, in the year 4 A.D., no elections could be held at all on account of the bitter spirit of the candidates.[2] The highest office was that of the duumvirs, or judges, by whose names the year was designated, as at Rome by the names of the consuls. They presided in the senate, and in popular assemblies; they had authority in civil cases up to a certain point, and in criminal cases their jurisdiction continued until the close of the first century, when it passed into the hands of the imperial judges. In intervals of every five years, the duumvirs who were then in office published an account of the municipal receipts and expenditures; and on account of this extension of authority, involving the fixing of the lists of senators and of citizens also, these particular duumvirs, or quinquennales, received a much greater

[1] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. 1. 349–351.

[2] Henzen-Orelli, 643, *propter contentiones candidatorum*. On this general subject *cf.* Mau-Kelsey, pp. 12, 121–123.

importance than the duumvirs of other years. Next in authority to them stand the two ædiles, or chiefs of police. To them belonged the supervision of the streets,[1] the public buildings, baths and markets, and particularly the care of all imports, and the control of weights and measures. They could also punish offenders in the market. In many cities there were also special treasurers (*quæstores*), although not in all.

The privileges to which these officers were entitled were, first, the dress of the Roman magistrates (a toga with a purple border); secondly, the curule chair (a folding chair without back); thirdly, lictors to precede them, carrying only the staves and not the axes.

To hold office, the candidate must be freeborn, of irreproachable name, be at least twenty-five years old, and possess a certain income; he must also show that he is not carrying on any improper business, as that of procurer, actor, gladiator, or even auction crier, whose business was too much like that of the actor. Undertakers were also debarred. It was necessary to take office in the strictly legal order, beginning at the lowest and rising, if any one aspired to the higher grades. No one could hold the same office twice unless after an interval of five years. As for property qualification, in some cities, as in Comum, the candidate must possess at least $5000;

[1] Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I. 166, 7.

in larger cities, undoubtedly more. In Padua, at that time the most important city of upper Italy, there were, in the reign of Augustus, five hundred families which possessed more than four times the qualifying amount.[1] In fact, almost everywhere larger means must have been requisite than merely the legal census in order to hold office without bankrupting oneself, for the magistrates were not only unsalaried, but burdened with considerable expenses incidental to the positions they held. Custom, and sometimes specifications in the laws, forced those who were elected to undertake certain things for the good of the community, for example, the erection of public buildings, or holding of public games; they were, besides, expected to contribute to the city treasury a certain amount as an honorarium, which was based upon the size of the city and the grade of the office. In Pompeii this amounted, in the case of the higher offices, to about $500. Sometimes it was remitted as a special mark of honor to certain individuals. Often the treasury received more than was expected under the law, and at times certain expenditures that required a far greater outlay were undertaken in behalf of the city, in place of contributing the money directly to the treasury.

The senate,[2] or city council, was commonly called the curia, and often with the epithet *splendidissima*,

[1] Friedl., III. 179. [2] Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 12.

"most reverend." It was composed of one hundred members, chosen for life, who were called *decuriones*. Their list, as has been said above, was determined every five years by the quinquennales. All who had held office belonged *eo ipso* to the senate. A stone inscription still exists, giving a list of the senate of Canusium (Canossa) for the year 223 A.D. In this, thirty-nine honorary members are named, as well as the one hundred decuriones. These latter are given according to the class to which they belong, for the classification of senators was an important matter, since it determined their seating in the senate and the order of their voting. In this list we see that seven were ex-quinquennales, four received this rank by senatorial decree without having filled the office, twenty-nine were ex-duumvirs, ten ex-ædiles, nine ex-quæstors, and thirty-two had as yet held no office. At the end are given the names of twenty-five sons of decuriones below the legal age, who, like the sons of Roman senators, had the right to attend the sessions as listeners, but were included in the senatorial list only upon special order to that effect. Such special orders were given upon the death of certain decuriones whose family the senate might desire to honor, or upon the express wish of fathers, or in grateful recognition of some generosity on their part toward the people. Their sons, or nephews, though often but mere youths, were then

placed on the list and, from that time, shared in the privileges of decuriones, except that they did not vote before their twenty-fifth year.

There were certain honorable privileges enjoyed by the decuriones, differing according to their rank and class. These were not indicated by any special kind of dress, for as a fact the same dress was worn by all the senators, even indeed in the most elaborate and imposing ceremonials which attended their burial. The peculiar privileges of the honorable kind referred to were such as the first place of honor at all public festivals and games, the right to the use of a certain kind of chair called *bisellium*, which was a broad bench without back but with a footstool,[1] the right to a larger share in the advantages of any entertainments given or in any distributions of money, and finally in later times the honorable epithet *laudabilis*, which might also be applied to the members of their families.[2] As *honestiores* the decuriones could not be condemned to certain extreme penalties of the law in case they were guilty of crime.[3] The conditions of eligibility were the same as with the executive officers of the city. An honorarium was necessary upon entering the senate, ex-

[1] According to Johannes Schmidt, *De Seviris Augustalibus*, p. 93, this honor was for those only who had already held this office.

[2] De Rossi, *Bullet. crist.*, III. 26 ; V. 24.

[3] Hartmann, *De exilio*, p. 58 f. *Cf.* Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, 12 f.

emption from which was also with them a mark of special distinction. They probably had the right to use the city water free of charge,[1] and seem to have enjoyed other advantages, at least in certain towns.[2]

Although the city offices brought the holders of them no material advantages, but imposed considerable sacrifice, and though the privileges connected with the decurionate scarcely afforded any real compensation for the expenses they entailed, yet they were sought with eagerness and ambition. Cicero said that it was easier to become senator in Rome than to become decurio in Pompeii. This was true in later times as well. Besides, there is no doubt that in the smaller towns the desire to rise above one's fellows, and to provoke jealousy and envy, was more keenly relished than in the cities. Yet it must not be forgotten that the municipalities did not participate in the vast concerns of the Roman empire; this would have been possible only in a government by representation, and antiquity knew no such system. The horizon of municipal politics did not, as a rule, reach beyond the precincts of the town. Within this

[1] Mommsen, *Zeitschrift für histor. Rechtswissenschaft*, XV. 311.

[2] *CIL*, X. 4760 = Wilmanns, *Exem. Inscr.*, 2038 (Suessa): huic (Aug. II) ordo decurionum . . . ut aquæ digitus in domo eius flueret commodisque publicis acsi decurio frueretur . . . decrevit. XI. 1, 1607 (Florentia): filio an. XXIIII. commodis decurioni(s) uso d. d.

circle, under the early empire, when the central government had not yet imposed its representatives upon the towns of Italy, the full freedom of self-government allowed scope, not only for ambition and vanity, but also for talent and energy.

During the second century, and to some extent in the century preceding, the status of the cities of Italy declined. Imperfections in their administration of justice repeatedly forced Hadrian and subsequent emperors to reorganize them.[1] Irregularities, too, had begun to appear in the finances of the cities, caused in part, no doubt, by the construction of handsome public buildings whose great cost exceeded the means at command. Deficits and bankruptcy naturally resulted, giving emperors opportunity to undertake the economic management of cities, a matter which had hitherto been intrusted to the quinquennales alone, and to name imperial commissioners, called *curatores*, to take charge of their government. These were never chosen from the cities where their duties lay, but either from another city, or from the two highest classes of the empire, the equites and senators. Such commissioners often had supervision over the economic administration of several cities at once. Just as soon as this interference in the affairs of the rural communities and cities was established by the central government, it was natural that the

[1] Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I. 223 ff.

local officers and the local senate should find themselves reduced to a more and more subordinate position, while the burdens of the community in financial obligations and taxes were increased. While, therefore, the municipal offices lost a large part of their desirability, yet, from the beginning of the second century, the centralizing imperial service offered much more favorable opportunities than before. At that time a bureaucracy was established by Hadrian which reached gradually throughout the entire government, — a highly complex and systematized organism, that laid claim to a large number of privileges and powers, and opened up brilliant and powerful careers. Eagerness to enter into the imperial civil service increased; the desirability of municipal service declined. The number of those who, out of fear for the safety of their property, accepted the decurionate or the municipal offices became larger and larger; naturally they hid all indications of their wealth as far as possible. It seems probable that, as early as the second century, force was resorted to in filling up the membership of the municipal curiæ from among those holding the requisite valuation; and in time even severer measures were resorted to, lest the curiæ drop into desuetude through lack of members. The decurionate came therefore to be a rank or position that descended from father to son, and to it the sons of decuriones could belong, as such, as early as

their eighteenth year. In case of necessity, vacancies were filled from among the remaining citizens; slaves, freedmen, and outlaws could not, however, be chosen. In the fourth century, the senate became a sort of penal institution into which a citizen might be forced on account of some offence.

III

Social Classes of the Rural Cities

In the rural aristocracy which the decuriones formed, the foremost place was taken by those families which belonged to the second rank in the empire,— that of the knights. As early as the reign of Caligula, through various favors and grants, the number of these families had begun to increase throughout Italy, as well as in the entire empire.[1] Men who had served with honor in the army were selected upon retirement for promotion into this class, particularly such legionaries as had worked their way up through all the sixty grades of the regiment to the primipilatus. These so-called *primipilarii* made a very exceptional and important class, especially since they came into the possession of considerable wealth given them at the time of their discharge.[2] We very often find them, and other ex-officers of

[1] Friedl., I. 278.

[2] Friedl., I. 376.

equestrian rank, particularly tribunes of the legions and cohorts, holding the highest civic and priestly offices in the cities of Italy; they were even elected as *patroni*, or attorneys, for their cities. The poet Juvenal, who had commanded an auxiliary cohort as tribune, was made duumvir, quinquennalis, and priest of the deified Emperor Vespasian in his native city, Aquinum.[1] Ex-centurions also came to belong to this rural aristocracy; even Augustus had granted them upon their retirement the purple-bordered toga and the rank of decurio.[2] We find them as leaders of rural fashion enjoying considerable notice through their self-important and presuming manners. They scorned scholarly, especially philosophical, training, and were sure of the approving laughter of their hearers while proving the uselessness of such study, and ridiculing it with their stale jokes.[3]

That harmony did not always exist between the rural aristocracy and their fellow-citizens is clear enough even without positive evidence.[4] Officials, and even the senate, were often charged with embezzlement and bribery;[5] and charges of this sort,

[1] Friedl., III. 494. [2] Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, V. 128; Friedl., I. 377, 2.

[3] Persius, 3, 77; 5, 189; Friedl., III. 678 ff.

[4] Tacitus, *Orat.* 41: municipium . . . quod . . . domestica discordia agitat.

[5] Petronius, 44: ædiles . . . qui cum pistoribus colludunt . . . ædilem qui . . . plus in die nummorum accipit, quam alter patrimonium habet.

with counter charges and denials, were carried to Rome. Sometimes friction of this sort led to actual riot, as at Puteoli in 58 A.D., when rocks were thrown and incendiary threats were made. In this instance citizens and curia sent ambassadors to Rome; officials and aristocracy were accused of embezzlement; the populace, of violence and lawlessness. The first commissioner sent thither from Rome failed to suppress the tumult, and it was only when the city was occupied by a pretorian cohort of one thousand men, and certain ringleaders were put to death, that harmony was reëstablished.[1]

Next to the decuriones in rank and importance, though inferior to them, were the corporations of augustales. We find among the augustales, not only men who were not free-born, but men of only moderate means, or in the pursuit of some business or profession which disqualified them for the decurionate,— men who could, however, claim a position above the level of the common people.[2] The augustales were members of religious bodies devoted to the cult of the emperor, and in the flourishing period of the rural cities, to be an augustalis was a much-coveted honor. The competition was great; for membership in any association meant not only many other

[1] Tacitus, *Annales*, XIII. 48.

[2] Schmidt, *De Seviris Aug.*; Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I. 197–208.

advantages, but especially some social distinction. It meant preference in all distributions of largesses, in the assignment of places in the theatres, and so forth. But the chief distinction of the augustales lay in the fact that they belonged to moneyed organizations; that their membership was made up of prominent, if not aristocratic, men ; that they did much in behalf of the people, and were devoted to the cult of the emperor. As a rule they are mentioned as a kind of class, like the decuriones. They stand between the upper and lower orders of masters and servants, and feel honored when one of the former answers their greeting in a friendly way, or accosts them by name, "as though one of us." [1]

In Rome, as early as Augustus, the genius of the reigning emperor became the object of a cult, officially recognized by the great city, and privately by numerous clubs formed for this purpose. Similarly, throughout Italy, religious organizations frequently substituted the imperial cult in place of that of the gods. In Pompeii the devotees of Mercury and Maia first added to the names of these two deities that of Augustus, and from the year 2 A.D., employed his name alone.[2] Elsewhere in southern Italy clubs for this purpose were formed, and were called augustales.

Their officers, called seviri (six men), were nominated by the decuriones and were elected for only

[1] Petronius, chap. 44.

[2] Nissen, pp. 183 and 272.

one year. It was otherwise in northern Italy, whose population was still too much mixed with Celtic elements, not yet sufficiently Romanized for the introduction of such bodies. Here, especially in Lombardy, there grew up clubs of seviri (the number six is the favorite one with Roman colonial priests) devoted to the cult of the emperor;[1] and from these were gradually developed distinct and legal corporations.

Considerable burdens were also connected with the sevirate. On the numerous days devoted to the imperial cult, the seviri had to perform sacrifices and provide various festivities. They also paid a fee into the city treasury upon taking office, and made it a point of pride to contribute more than the amount usually required. In consequence they were allowed, in their official functions, to wear gold rings and to put on the purple-bordered toga; this they might also do at festivals in the emperor's honor, even after their term of office; and they might be buried[2] wearing these same insignia. They were allowed lictors;[3] they had a place of honor at the games,

[1] Hirschfeld, *Zeitschrift für Österreich. Gymnasien*, 1878, pp. 291 ff.; Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I. 202.

[2] Petronius, chap. 71: facias . . . me in tribunali sedentem prætextatum cum anulis aureis quinque; and chap. 77: profer vitalia in quibus volo efferri; and chap. 78: stragulam albam et prætextam attulit.

[3] Petronius, chap. 65: inter hæc triclinii valvas lictor percussit.

and a greater share in largesses of money. The augustales might, upon decree of the senate, participate in the honors and privileges of the decuriones; and this seems to have been their highest ideal and ambition. The numerous records of their honors, especially those made upon their tombstones, tell us in pompous phraseology that this one, through a decree of the decuriones and with the good-will of the citizens, had received the bisellium for his services; that to another was given the distinction of decurio, or ædile or duumvir; that, for a third, the honorarium required on his entrance upon the sevirate was remitted;[1] that a fourth had received the title of "first of the augustales," and so on. Moreover, the privileges of the augustalitate might be granted to those who were not augustales; and such persons were sometimes buried with the honors of the office upon decree of the municipal council.[2] Scarcely any one was, therefore, debarred from the possibility of taking a prominent place among his fellow-citizens, and from thus constantly rising to a higher position. Considering the sacrifices which all this cleverly developed system demanded with its numerous minutely graded and clearly defined titles, dignities, ranks and decorations, we see how deeply

[1] Petronius, chap. 57: sevir gratis factus sum.

[2] *CIL*, IX. 58 (Brundisium): huic ordo decurionum f(unus) l(ocum) p(ublice) ornamentaque augustalitatis decrevit.

this desire to cut some figure among one's fellows had penetrated into all classes of society.

The societies of the augustales, probably more numerous in membership than those of the decuriones, were organized in the usual way. They elected their patrons and officers, had meeting-places in the larger cities, dining rooms for their society dinners, wine cellars, and sometimes real estate from the returns on which the expenses of their feasts were defrayed. They even possessed plots of ground where deceased members might find a final resting-place. They received benefactions and bequests from members and issued honorary addresses or decrees, sometimes in company with other societies, in behalf of persons who had placed them under obligation; frequently, too, they raised statues in honor of their benefactors.

The augustales, almost always freedmen, were usually traders and handicraftsmen of different sorts; as a rule they were very wealthy, and were filled with a consuming desire to place the decuriones in the shade by their own public generosity. It was among such men that that provincial feeling for the per-cent earned and the cent saved had its representatives. Petronius gives us a picture of one of those in his Trimalchio. This man, a libertinus who had become very wealthy through trade, was a former sevir among the augustales in Cumæ. He gives an order for his own monument to his friend, Habin-

nas, who is a manufacturer of marbles, and a brother sevir. On this stone is to be commemorated the most glorious deed of his life, the gift of a banquet to the entire city. He is to be shown in relief, sitting on an elevated platform, clothed with a purple-bordered toga, and with five gold rings on his fingers, while from a bag he scatters gold among the people, and round about are tables at which the entire populace are seen enjoying themselves. In his epitaph it shall be declared that he was made sevir in his absence, had been reduced, then won a great name, leaving his millions behind, and yet had never heard a philosopher.[1] This picture, drawn by Petronius, is true to life, particularly in the contempt of the *parvenu* for higher education, and his eagerness to give information upon his tombstone concerning the exact amount of property he leaves behind, a statement which, as a rule, was obligatory upon the heirs. We still have the tombstone of a freedman of Assisi, who succeeded in becoming a physician and a sevir, with such information upon it.[2] In Brescia there has been found the tombstone of a sevir of the augustales with scenes and illustrations upon it much like those ordered by Trimalchio for his tombstone. One can see this sevir, a short, thick-set man, with his five

[1] Petronius, chap. 71.

[2] Orelli, 2983; cf. also Petronius, chap. 71: sestertium reliquit trecenties.

colleagues, passing to the Forum, with two lictors preceding, and then taking his seat upon a raised bisellium, mid pompous self-complacency, and apparently with a bag of money in his hand. A sacrifice and some games provided by him also seem to be represented.[1]

Among the citizens of any of these Italian towns there were to be found aliens also. These were strangers who had taken up their permanent residence there, without losing their rights of citizenship among their own people. They had to bear the burdens of their adopted city, and, though in earlier times only citizens might hold office, yet, during the decline of the cities, these aliens were obliged to hold office and bear the sacrifices it entailed. Their number was considerable in the larger cities. We hear of Jewish quarters in several of them quite early.[2] Among these alien Jews, as well as among the poorer classes of the native people, Christian missionaries found ready converts even in the first century. In Pompeii an inscription was found containing the names of certain Christians. Unfortunately, only the names could be read with any certainty, and the inscription has since disappeared.[3]

That the people in these cities were sometimes dis-

[1] *CIL*, V. 4482 ; Schmidt, *De Seviris Aug.*, pp. 81 ff. and the plate ; cf. Hübner, *Hermes*, XII. 414 ff.

[2] Friedl., III. 620 f.

[3] *CIL*, IV. 679.

orderly even to the point of perpetrating outrages is shown by several incidents recorded at the time of their occurrence.[1] In Sienna, in 11 A.D., a Roman senator was treated with gross indignity and discourtesy, and apparently at the instigation of the magistrates. The people buried him in effigy with great ceremony; insolent and outrageous language was also used against the Roman senate. The latter summoned the guilty parties before their bar, punished them, and thus gave the city of Sienna a severe warning.[2]

IV

The Fiscal Management of Rural Cities

In the early centuries of the empire taxes were levied upon citizens for municipal purposes only in exceptional cases. The defraying of necessary expenses was a burden which the rich alone bore. They supplemented the municipal revenues, when necessary, by contributions which were voluntary, thus parting with a much larger portion of their means than would have been the case under a general tax. Such sacrifices were, however, made light for them; for citizens living in Italy paid neither a

[1] Tacitus, *Hist.*, III. 32: (Cremonenses) tertiadecumanos . . . ut sunt procacia urbanæ plebis ingenia, petulantibus iurgiis inluserant; also *Annales*, XIV. 17: (Nucerini Pompeianique) oppidana lascivia in vicem incessentes.

[2] Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV. 45.

property nor land tax, but only an inheritance tax and a few indirect taxes. Diocletian introduced the land tax, and thus brought Italy to the level of the provinces.

A city generally received its regular income from some very valuable estate which it owned, lying outside of the city limits, either in Italy or in the provinces. Capua, for instance, had possessions in Crete.[1] Such property consisted not only of farms, meadow lands and woods, but also of lakes and mines, and was leased to a tenant during his life, or even to hereditary tenants. There was, in the next place, the income from such public buildings as shops, stores, baths, or even hotels, like that, for example, which was built by the town of Hispellum, the modern Spello, at the much-frequented springs of Clitumnus.[2] With these should be mentioned the revenues derived from the piping of water from aqueducts, by means of which house and land tenants could bring water into their buildings or to their fields, and the owners of private baths could supply their establishments.[3] Many cities also collected toll-gate fees.[4] To the third source of revenue

[1] Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I. 157, 5.

[2] Pliny, *Epist.*, VIII. 8, 6: balineum Hispellates . . . publice præbent, præbent hospitium.

[3] Mommsen, *Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft*, XV. 305 f.; Friedl., III. 146, 3.

[4] Vectigal rotarium; Mommsen, *Hermes*, I. 55 with note.

belong the assessments made upon officials, decuriones, augustales, priests, and priestesses, when entering upon their duties. Finally, cities had, as a rule, a permanent capital derived from bequests and legacies, which, from Nerva's time,[1] they were allowed to accept. When, moreover, earthquakes, conflagrations, or other great calamities occurred, generous aid was always rendered by the imperial treasury. Thus the city of Bologna received $500,000 in the year 53, after a great fire in that city. The emperors also took interest in, and patronized, any extensive building, or similar outlay undertaken by the cities of the empire.[2]

On the other hand, cities were not then forced to bear all the heavy burdens of modern city government. Public worship was indeed a matter of public provision.[3] But there was no maintenance and support of soldiers at public expense, since these had quarters in no city in Italy except Rome. There was no heavy expense attached to city government; for the higher officials, as has been said, were unpaid, and there must always have been ready at command a large number of public slaves for the lower grades of service. Education was entirely left to private enterprise originally, and continued more or less so in later times; of the status of medical practice

[1] Friedl., III. 202, 2. [2] *Ibid.*, III. 206 ff.
[3] Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, II. 83.

we know very little. The heaviest items of expense for a city were the erection and preservation of its buildings, the care of public grounds and institutions, public entertainments and holidays, the purchase of flour and oil. The handling of these two principal foods was not left the prey of private speculation, but was guarded and controlled, even by the enactment of fixed market prices; besides, each city had its grain and oil accounts managed by the ædiles or by special commissioners, that both might be secured easily and cheaply in times of general scarcity.[1]

In all these various directions public enterprise was supported in a truly wonderful way by the voluntary contributions of wealthy citizens. The best inheritance from the republican period was this commendable spirit of self-sacrifice for the public good. Yet popular opinion went so far as to expect and demand of the rich and the prominent their generous services for the public weal, and thus they undoubtedly often allowed themselves to be involved in considerable sacrifice against their will. The patriotic citizen, in indulging his ambition to make some contribution to the glory and renown of his native city, did so to the best of his means, and sometimes went beyond his means or completely ruined himself. According to the opinion of those times, "building and making gifts of money" were

[1] Hirschfeld, *Philologus*, XXIX. 83–85.

the virtuous occupations of the rich man.[1] By thus showing his contempt for money he won the greatest glory. By special legal enactment, furthermore, the preservation of those inscriptions was guaranteed in which persons who erected public buildings were named.[2] The passionate jealousy between the cities, each one of which strove to equal or excel its neighbor, not infrequently impelled patriotic individuals to undertake the entire expense of erecting buildings. This is definitely confirmed by the fact that, though there was as a rule no necessity of securing the imperial sanction for erecting public buildings at private expense, the necessity did exist when such buildings were erected by one city in rivalry with another.[3] The value which the imperial government attached to the beauty and attractiveness of cities is shown in the prohibition contained in the laws governing Latin cities, that houses are not to be torn down unless a new building is to stand upon the site in the near future.[4] Probably the cities of Italy never made so attractive an appearance as at this time, when a large number of their citizens coöperated with the general and local governments for their beauty and adornment. Numerous inscrip-

[1] Martial, IX. 22; Friedl., III. 151, 1.

[2] *Digest.*, L. 10; Friedl., III. 201, 4.

[3] *Digest.*, L. 10; Friedl., III. 201, 6.

[4] Mommsen, *Abhandlungen der Sächischen Gesellschaft*, II. 480.

tions, still preserved, attest the erection of important public buildings, like porticos, temples, theaters, amphitheaters, bridges, by private persons at their own expense. Other inscriptions show that even individuals of moderate means were moved to bear their share in making their cities prosperous and comfortable, by seeing, for example, that the streets were well paved, the public playgrounds graded and enclosed, sun-dials erected, stalls provided for tradespeople, tables of stone for their wares, with weights and measures duly inspected, and so forth.[1]

The chief concern, however, of the city and its patriotic inhabitants was that an ample supply of water for drinking and bathing should be furnished by aqueducts, springs or wells. The extensive building of aqueducts throughout the Roman Empire puts modern times to shame.[2] Nothing so distinguishes the cities of ancient Italy from those of to-day, and to the credit of the former, as the luxury of cleanliness. There was no lack of public or private baths, for the heating of which wood was cut in the forests owned by the cities.[3] Even villages had several bathing establishments. To what extent they recognized it as their duty to provide good and cheap

[1] Friedl., III. 202 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, III. 145 f.

[3] Frontinus, *De controversiis Agrorum II.* in Lachmann's edition of the Gromatici, II. 55: sunt silvæ de quibus lignorum cremia in lavacra publica ministranda cæduntur.

baths has been understood from facts long known, but from none more clearly than the fortunate discovery of an ordinance of a mining town in southern Portugal.[1] The lessee of the public baths there was obliged to have them open from dawn until one o'clock for men, and from that hour until seven for women. The former had to pay an entrance price of three-fourths of a cent, the latter a cent and a half, which was twice the charge made at Rome. It was stipulated that fresh-flowing water should be in the cold and warm tanks mornings and afternoons, and each kept at a certain temperature. The boiler was to be cleaned out once a month and rubbed each time with tallow. It may be presumed that what was provided in a mining town in a distant province was to be found in the smallest village in Italy. For no purpose were funds established or bequests made more frequently, so far as evidence goes, than for the erection and equipment of baths, and for their free use, not only by citizens and people of the neighborhood, but at times also by strangers and slaves.[2] In Bologna, for example, a fund of about $22,000 was left in order that men as well as boys and girls might enjoy the privileges of a certain bathing establish-

[1] Hübner et Mommsen, *Lex metalli Vipascensis; Ephem. epigraph*, III. 165–189.

[2] Cf. the section *Notabilia varia*, of the Indices of the *CIL*, X. 2 and XIV., *Balneum*. Orelli, 2287, Henzen, 6985.

ment.[1] A citizen of Tivoli directed his heirs to keep open for general use a bathing establishment connected with his house.[2] A city official of Misenum presented the public baths with four hundred wagon loads of hard wood, with the proviso that his descendants, fulfilling the legal conditions at the same time, should receive certain municipal offices.[3] Officials also rented baths for the duration of their term of office, and kept them for general free use.[4] In Prænestе (the modern Palestrina) a president of the association of freedmen was buried at public expense, and his statue placed in the Forum because by will he had provided free baths for the space of three years for his fellow-citizens.[5] Provision was sometimes made by means of which oil could be bought for use on holidays. The father of the younger Pliny, L. Cæcilius Cilo, bequeathed to the city of Como over $2,000 by means of the interest on which, at the festival of Neptune, the oil was to be provided yearly in the thermæ and all the baths of Como for anointing the gymnasts in the exercises on the playground.[6]

The habit of daily bathing, moreover, in connection with that liking which southern people still feel for

[1] Orelli, 3325. [2] *Digest.*, XXXII. 35, 3.
[3] *IRN*, 2575, or Orelli, 3772, or *CIL*, X. 3678.
[4] *Digest.*, XIX. 2, 30.
[5] *CIL*, XIV. 3015. [6] Mommsen, *Hermes*, III. 60.

getting together and conversing in public places, made of the spacious, bright, and ornamented rooms of the baths, as the remains of Pompeii show they must have been, most popular places of recourse, where one might see his acquaintances, hear the news, or pass the hours away. The baths were commonly filled at the noon hour, when business was at a lull; refreshments were often to be had, so that the effect must have been not unlike that of a modern café.

Similarly, in the care and support of the poorer portion of the population, the generosity of the rich kept pace with the provisions made by the city itself. Gifts and bequests were frequent for the purchase of oil and flour to be distributed without price, or at an average price in time of scarcity.[1] But private generosity went even farther. Gifts were evidently frequently made by means of which parents were enabled to educate their children to the age of self-support. A wealthy woman in Terracina, for instance, bequeathed a sum of more than $50,000, from the interest of which one hundred boys and girls were to receive monthly money enough to purchase the flour they needed, the boys until they were sixteen years old, the girls until they were thirteen, at which age the latter usually

[1] Friedl., III. 151, 2.

married.[1] By means of a similar fund created at Atina the children received, upon completing their schooling, a sum of money amounting to more than fifty dollars. From Nerva's time, the emperors also began to establish funds for the education of the poor children of freeborn parents.[2] Trajan extended these children's institutions all over Italy; this explains the relief found in the Forum at Rome in 1872 representing Italia with her children kneeling gratefully before the emperor. These imperial funds, however, were meant usually for boys; for we see that in the provision made by Trajan for the city of Veleia, which was near Parma, 246 boys were to have a share, but only 35 girls.

There were not only charitable foundations for children, but also for the helpless and aged.[3] Of the public care of the sick we know but little. However, as early as the beginning of the second century, in most places there seem to have been city physicians who were paid out of the city treasury. Galen also narrates that in many cities spacious rooms, with large openings for an abundance of light, were placed at the service of physicians for the treatment of the

[1] Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, II. 143, 5 (a fund for Atina); 144, 4 (Terracina); *CIL*, XIV. 350 (Ostia).

[2] Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, pp. 141 ff.

[3] Paulus, *Digest.*, XXX. 122 : (legata) in alimenta infirmæ ætatis puta senioribus vel pueris puellisque.

sick.[1] When one considers how many widely scattered institutions of this sort there were in the ancient world, with regard to which we have but the meagrest and most casual information, he cannot but admit that the care of the poor and the sick even in the cities of ancient heathendom was organized on a much more comprehensive scale than has been commonly admitted.[2] Finally, it is to be noted here that burial plots were laid out, not only by the community,[3] but also by private individuals. For example, in Sassina, in Umbria, a person presented a burial plot, allowing ten square feet for each grave, for citizens and residents, excepting those who had pursued some dishonorable career, like that of the gladiator, or had sought self-destruction and disgrace by hanging.[4] In Bergomum a person established a fund which forever relieved all citizens from payment of the burial fee usually charged by the community; thus the last honors might be fully rendered to the dead.[5]

In its care also of educational interests, the public was supported by the patriotism of individuals. National educational institutions existed in the

[1] Friedl., I. 336 f.

[2] Bormann, however, rightly questions the genuineness of inscription No. 114 in Orelli = Wilmanns, 2396 = *CIL.* XI. 1, 420*, on gratuitous distribution of drugs in Luna.

[3] Cf. Frontinus in the passage cited on p. 35.

[4] Orelli, 4894; Mommsen, *De Collegiis*, p. 100, No. 11.

[5] *CIL.* V. 5265.

Roman Empire only at the great centers of intellectual life, as at Rome, Alexandria, Athens, and later, Constantinople. In the other cities there were simply local schools, and these sprang up only gradually. Originally, as has been said, education was left to private enterprise, which was everywhere stimulated by the exemption from public burdens which was enjoyed by the teacher, as well as by the physician.[1] Such exemption is granted even in the ordinance of the mining town in Portugal mentioned above; for a school existed even there, or at least was in contemplation. Parents were accustomed to send their boys from the small towns to a near city or to Rome, when they wished to give them an education extending beyond that which the local school could offer. The school which old Statius kept in Naples was popular with the boys of Apulia and Lucania.[2] Horace tells us that his father was dissatisfied with the school of a certain Flavius in his native town, Venusia, to which the burly sons of powerful centurions went with tablets and pen-cases in their hands, and that, in spite of his modest means, his father sent him to Rome that he might receive the education which was given to sons of knights and senators.[3] About 100 A.D., there being no teacher of oratory in Comum, boys from that town who wished to pursue

[1] Friedl., I. 315 f., 336 f. [2] Statius, *Silvæ*, V. 3, 162 ff.
[3] Horace, *Satiræ*, I. 6, 71 ff.

this study were obliged to go to Milan, which was fortunately near. The younger Pliny proposed to the families interested therein that they raise the honorarium for such a teacher by means of a subscription; he himself, though childless, contributed a third of the amount needed. To give the entire sum seemed unwise on account of the political intrigues which frequently exerted a bad influence in the appointment of teachers in towns where positions were bestowed and paid by the public.[1] As in the case of Comum, it was necessary to turn to Rome to secure the right man for the place;[2] candidates furnished with testimonials from distinguished persons of the locality presented themselves, and gave a public trial of their knowledge and pedagogical skill. Gellius attended in Brindisi such an election of a teacher sent out from Rome. The candidate interpreted a passage from Vergil very poorly and incorrectly, and then invited the audience to propound questions. In reply to one put by Gellius, he showed his complete ignorance.[3] In addition to their salaries, meritorious teachers received honors; a teacher of Latin at Verona, who belonged to the rank of the augustales, received the distinction of being promoted to the rank of decurio;[4] to many,

[1] Pliny, *Epist.*, IV. 13.
[2] Fronto, *ad Amicos*, I. 7 (Naber); Friedl., I. 325.
[3] Gellius, *Noctes Attic.*, XVI. 6.
[4] Friedl., I. 317, 3.

statues were erected after their death.[1] Judging from the fact, also, that Pliny presented the city of Comum with a library of considerable value, and added a fund of 100,000 sesterces for its maintenance and increase,[2] it may be supposed that such patriots were certainly generous toward the cause of education.

V

Popular Amusements. Religious Observances. Relations with Rome

While municipal care as well as private liberality was so variously exercised in noble and wise directions, a great deal more seems to have been spent on public amusements and festivities, especially by the rich who courted local popularity. These were, moreover, required by custom to invite a large portion of the community to their private functions. Every gay and joyous event in their families came, in this way, to be very expensive to them. If a rich man celebrated his birthday, his son's assumption of the toga virilis, prepared for his daughter's wedding, entered upon the duties of some city office, or dedicated some public building erected at his own expense, — in all these cases, he was regularly forced to invite the city council as guests, often also a large portion of the citizens, sometimes hundreds or even

[1] Friedl., III. 257, 3. [2] Friedl., I. 252.

thousands, or provide a gift of money[1] in place of such a festival.

Such general banquets as well as public games constituted the principal popular amusements.[2] At the former, tables were often spread in the open air; at Ostium, on a certain occasion, 217 were spread.[3] Doubtless the dinner was often a complete one, *ab ovo usque ad mala*. At Amiternum, June 29, 338 A.D., in addition to bread and wine, two oxen and fifteen sheep were consumed.[4] Frequently, however, only bread and wine were furnished, together with money for the purchase of the remainder, or there might be donations of money together with a complete dinner. Frequently on such occasions, the decuriones received three denarii apiece, the augustales two, all others one, a denarius being about twenty-one cents. Sometimes a kind of lottery was provided; in Beneventum the chief magistrate, on a certain occasion, threw lots among the people, the prizes being gold, silver, bronze, linen articles, clothes, and so forth.[5] Cakes and sweet wine were very commonly provided; witness the announcement found in Ferentinum, which is in hendecasyllables,[6] and runs: —

[1] Pliny, *To Trajan*, 116 ff.; Apuleius, *Apologia*, 88.

[2] *Divisiones*, *CIL*, X. 2, pp. 1181–1183, and *CIL*, XIV. p. 596; Henzen, *Indic.*, p. 192 ff.; Wilmanns, *Indic.*, p. 663, *Largitiones*.

[3] *CIL*, XIV. 375.

[4] *CIL*, IX. 4215. [5] *CIL*, IX. 1655. [6] *CIL*, X. 5844.

"Here are sweet wine and cookies for every man;
Freely offered at your desire till noon time.
He who reports later, provides for himself."

In such banquets men only, as a rule, had part, and were alone considered in the largesses of money, or at least they received larger gifts than the women. Sometimes, however, the wives without their husbands were entertained by women of rank.[1] An inscription from Veii announces that a lady of that place had provided a banquet for the mothers, sisters, and daughters of the decuriones (the wives being inadvertently omitted), and a bath with free oil for the wives of all classes, during the days on which her husband held games and gave a banquet.[2] It is seen from this inscription that at such a banquet the women of the rank of the decuriones were no less sharply separated from other women than their husbands from the rest of the community. We are also told that nuts were sometimes scattered among the children, often including the children of slaves; frequently there were illuminations, of which the people were very fond. Rich men were often fond, also, of feasting the populace annually, probably on their own or the emperor's birthday, and of providing for the yearly repetition of the same by legacy, or by the

[1] *CIL*, IX. 3171 (Corfinium): quæ ob dedicationem statuar. filiorum suorum epul. dedit, mulierib. sing. (denarios singulos).

[2] *CIL*, XI. 1, 3811.

establishment of endowment funds.[1] In Ferentinum a chief magistrate once presented the people with several pieces of land which he had bought for them for 70,000 sesterces (about $3,750) in order that by means of six per-cent returns thereon, the following annual provision might be made: for the citizens, other residents and the married women, who honored his memory, a pound, or about nine ounces, of cakes, and a hemina, or pint, of sweet wine; for each table of the decuriones, in addition to the wine and cakes, ten sesterces (about fifty-five cents); for the sons of the decuriones and the seviri augustales, sweet wine and cake and eight sesterces apiece; for each man at the donor's table, an additional sestertius; while among the children, whether free-born or not, thirty modii (about fifteen bushels) of nuts were to be scattered.[2]

But still more expensive than these banquets were the games. Chariot races, however, the principal feature of the circus games at Rome, were not given in the other cities. Augustus probably confined them to Rome because they led to quarrels and tumults of the worst sort.[3] Of the remaining games, those of

[1] *Digest.*, XXXIII. 1, 23.

[2] *CIL*, X. 5853: favorabile est, si pueris plebeis sine distinctione libertatis nucum sparsionem modiorum XXX . . . præstiterint.

[3] Nissen, p. 111; cf. Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, III. 528, 6.

the amphitheater, viz., the baiting of animals and the gladiatorial contests, were far more popular than those of the theater. This is proved by the relative dimensions of the buildings in Pompeii intended for each of these two kinds of entertainment:[1] the large theater there held 3,000 to 4,000 persons; the small theater (intended also for a kind of concert performance) about 1,500; while the amphitheater held at least 13,000, if not as many as 20,000. If it is objected that in Campania gladiatorial contests were naturally the most popular, their attractiveness must have been essentially the same elsewhere. Greek games between athletes spread from the Greek city of Naples, and were popular throughout the other cities.[2]

The games, particularly those in the amphitheater, were, as has been said, a universally popular form of amusement in ancient Italy, like a ball game or fireworks to-day. It was, therefore, a very severe pun-

Juvenal, III. 223, seems to imply that the circus games were essentially Roman: —

> Si potes avelli circensibus, optima Soræ
> aut Fabrateriæ domus aut Frusione paratur;

cf. XI. 52: —

> Ille dolor solus patriam fugientibus
> caruisse anno circensibus uno.

[1] Nissen, pp. 116 and 252; cf. Mau-Kelsey, chapters XX., XXI., and XXIX. [2] Friedl., II. p. 418, 10, and p. 635.

ishment for a city if it had to forego all games for a season.[1] The Roman senate held such a threat over Pompeii after a bloody affray which occurred in the year 59 between the Pompeians and a large crowd which had come over from Nuceria, while games were in progress in the amphitheater.[2] The installation of new games, which were to be repeated regularly, required the imperial approval.[3] These were conducted on days sacred to the gods and on other festival days either by officers specially appointed, and at public expense, or by means of the interest on funds created for this purpose (at which time the donors made a considerable addition to them); or managed by officers and priests at their own expense, in recognition of honors conferred upon them by the community.[4] Games were also very commonly provided by the rich for the sake of popularity. The *nouveau riche*, particularly, as it seems, loved to display his wealth in this manner. Martial[5] waxes sarcastic over the fact that a gladiatorial show had been given in Bologna by a shoemaker, and by a fuller in Modena, whose trade had flourished in connection with the wool-raising for which Modena was famous. Men who had once roamed from city to

[1] Hist. Aug. Marc. Antonin. 25. Avid. Cass. 9.
[2] Tacitus, *Annales*, XIV. 17.
[3] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II. 887, 7; *CIL*, IX. 1156; X. 1211.
[4] Friedl. II. 423.
[5] Martial, III. 16, 59, 99.

city seeking employment as trumpeters at these combats, and had afterwards made money in questionable enterprises, used to provide these same combats, and in condescending recognition of the wish of the spectators, make the signal for giving the *coup de grâce* to the vanquished contestants.[1] Games were often given on the occasion of memorial exercises and funeral ceremonies. The younger Pliny praises a friend who had promised the city of Verona a series of combats in the amphitheater, not only because this showed his universal popularity, but also his wish to honor the memory of his deceased wife, a lady of Verona. To be sure, people had been so importunate that he could not refuse; still, the liberality of his programme deserved special praise since it showed a great mind. Among other features of the show was a number of panthers which had been consigned from Africa.[2] Not infrequently the giving of these games seems to have been actually forced by what was nothing less than a cold-blooded demand of the people.[3] In the reign of Tiberius the mob in a city in the region of Genoa would not let the funeral procession of a primipilarius cross the market-place before they had extorted from the heirs a promise of a gladiatorial combat. When the emperor received

[1] Juvenal, III. 35 ff. [2] Plin., *Epist.*, VI. 34.

[3] *Digest.*, XLVIII. 6, 10: qui ludos pecuniamve ab aliquo invito polliceri publice privatimve per iniuriam exegerit.

news of this, he threw a force of infantry into the city, and imprisoned a large number of the senate and citizens.[1] Very often bequests were made in order that games might be given.[2] In Pisaurum (the modern Pesaro) a deceased duumvir left a fund of over $54,000 and directed that the interest of two-fifths of it should be spent on a banquet commemorative of his son's birthday, and that with the interest of the remainder a gladiatorial show should be given every fifth year.[3] As a rule, immense sums were spent on these games, which often lasted two, three or four days. In the larger places twenty, thirty and even fifty pairs of combatants appeared, often in expensive armor. Frequently stags, hares, bulls, boars, bears and even panthers and ostriches were baited. The more the blood flowed, the greater the honor heaped upon the giver of the show. Even the horrible destruction of criminals by beasts was considered a legitimate part of these games.[4] At Trimalchio's table the conversation turns on a recent gladiatorial combat given in his neighborhood, and on another in prospect. The latter, which is to be a splendid affair and last three days, will probably cost $21,000; the wounded fighters are to be slain in the arena before the eyes of the spectators, and the name

[1] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 37.
[2] *Digest.*, XXXIII. 1, 6 and 1, 21, 3; *CIL*, II. 4514.
[3] Orelli, 81.
[4] Friedl., II. 423 ff.

of the patron will forever be extolled with praise.[1] In addition to the contests in the amphitheater, theatrical performances, though less popular, were common enough on account of their smaller expense, and athletic games also were not infrequent. In the reign of Augustus, Aulus Clodius Flaccus, when duumvir, presented in the Forum of Pompeii, at the festival of Apollo, July 6th to the 13th, a procession, a bull-fight, and Greek and Roman boxing matches, and in the theater a performance with music and ballet, in which the distinguished Roman pantomimist, Pylades, danced. When, on being reëlected, he became quinquennalis also, he repeated on the first day of the Apollo festival the larger part of the previous programme, and on the second day, at his own expense, presented thirty pairs of athletes and five pairs of gladiators, and together with his colleague thirty-five pairs of gladiators and a baiting of wild beasts, including bulls, boars, bears and other animals.[2]

The well-to-do citizens, who sacrificed a large part of their means by such contributions for the pleasure and profit of their fellow-citizens, and indeed sometimes bankrupted themselves, often received not a word of thanks.[3] As for reimbursement, they wisely entertained no hopes in that direction.

[1] Petronius, chap. 45.

[2] *CIL*, X. 1074 d.

[3] Petronius, chap. 45: et revera, quid ille nobis boni fecit, etc.

At the utmost the senate might now and then, in recognition of the munificence shown by an augustalis, permit him to tap the public water-supply through a three-eighths pipe.[1] As a rule, however, a self-sacrificing spirit was recognized by the presentation of municipal and priestly offices, or other honors, of which the erection of a statue was the principal.[2] Since the manufacture of art products had come to be very much of a purely mechanical affair, and slaves were employed for this work, statues and similar grants could be bestowed very easily and without serious cost. If it was a question, therefore, of distinguishing some individual, several standing or equestrian statues were voted, or a statue upon a two-horse chariot, or one of gilded bronze. In Brescia the senate on a certain occasion directed that an equestrian statue of gilded bronze be erected to the memory of the son of a decurio, who had died in his sixth year. On hundreds of still existing bases of statues the sentence is to be read, "Satisfied with the honor, he has remitted the cost." The statues were therefore presumably voted when it was certain that the recipient of the honor would bear the expense of the same. In addition he

[1] *CIL*, X. 4760 (Suessa): . . . Aug. II. . . . quod . . . munus familiæ gladiatoriæ ex pecunia sua diem privatum secundum dignitatem coloniæ ediderit; cf. above, p. 18, note 2.

[2] Friedl., III. 257 ff.

was expected to give some entertainment at the unveiling. In such an era of good feeling there must have been a round of presentations, ceremonial dedications, addresses, conferring of honors, state banquets, largesses of money, and games, in which the propertied class had the honor, and the rest the pleasure. Even the death of a prominent man was an occasion for festivities and the presentation of honors. The senate voted an expression of condolence with the family, presented the burial plot, paid the cost of interment from the city treasury, ordered that the bier should be borne by persons of proper rank, and that the citizens accompany the procession from the Forum. Frequently, in order that the attendance might be as large as possible, the court docket for the day was postponed. Finally one or more statues were erected to the deceased. The family bore the expense of the same, and in addition presented a banquet or public games.[1]

We know extremely little of the religious life in the cities of Italy, intimately connected though it was with the daily routine. Though it was in general very much the same, yet in different places it

[1] Cf. *Funus publicum* in the *Notabilia varia* in the Indices of *CIL*, X. and XIV. Cf. X. 3903 (Capua) : vadimoniaque eius diei dif[ferantur ne per quas r]es possit imped[itus esse populus. On the gift of a burial plot during the life of the recipient, cf. *CIL*, XIV. 2466 (Castrimœnium).

showed marked peculiarities. Beside the cult of the gods generally honored, many local cults were retained from pre-Roman times; thus in upper Italy Celtic deities were worshipped, for example, those called Matronæ by the Romans; about Verona, Rætian deities; in Tuscany, old Etruscan deities, as in Volsinii (the modern Bolsena), Nortia, the goddess of fate. Many old Italian cults did not extend beyond the bounds of a single city; thus, Valentia was worshipped in Otricoli alone; Hostia, in Sutri; Ancharia, in Ascoli. Very strange festivals and rites also survived in different places.[1] At the midsummer festival of Diana of Aricia, whose temple stood on a declivity of Lake Nemi, below the present site of the city, the whole lake was ablaze at night with torches.[2] At the festival of Juno in Falerii, near the modern Civita Castellani, a sacred procession marched to the city from the venerable grove of the goddess. Flutes gave the signal for the advance. First came snow-white cows and other victims, led by a chosen bull with wreathed horns, while a line of maidens followed in gay attire, wearing golden ornaments in the hair. They were veiled in accordance with the Greek fashion, and clad in long white gowns and gold-embroidered shoes; upon their heads they carried sacred vessels. Then came the priest-

[1] Friedl., III. 593 f.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, III. 269; Friedl., II. 117, 7.

esses, and last the image of the goddess. Along the entire route boys and maidens spread carpets on the streets.[1] On such occasions travellers flocked from far and near. There was also a large number of old and celebrated shrines which always drew pilgrims even from great distances. Most prominent among these are, first, the temples of the healing gods, in which votive tablets and gifts attested wondrous recovery from diseases of all kinds, and, secondly, the oracle temples, like that of the two Fortunæ at Antium and of Fortuna at Præneste, where the oracle was given by means of lots which a boy mixed and drew. Processions on the festival days of the gods, as well as on exceptional occasions, were frequent everywhere. If in time of great drought Jupiter was to be implored for rain, the women marched in procession to his temple, barefooted and with loosened hair.[2]

Fairs and markets were often part of the religious festivals, and the consent of the Roman senate was necessary before holding them.[3] These naturally attracted visitors from all sides. A fair was held for several days in Cremona in the year 69, "which drew a large part of Italy."[4] At such places could doubtless be seen collected for display the most ap-

[1] Ovid, *Amores*, III. 13. [2] Petronius, chap. 44.
[3] Wilmanns, *Ephemeris Epigraph*, III. 279 f.
[4] Tacitus, *Historia*, III. 30.

proved products of Italian industry :[1] coarse woollen fabrics and cloths from the coast of Genoa, finer material from Parma and Modena, brownish red woollen stuff for soldiers' coats, and for livery, from Canossa, purple garments from Tarentum, costly carpets and shaggy frieze from Padua, red and black pottery ware from Arezzo and Cuma, iron ware made in the shops of Pozzuoli from German metal, sausages from Lucania, fish sauce from Pompeii, oil and olives from Venafro, Umbria, and the neighborhood of Bologna, wine from the most varied localities; for Italy was the principal wine-producing country of antiquity, furnishing about two-thirds of the eighty celebrated varieties which could be bought.

All the cities of Italy must constantly have had various relations with Rome, since many of their people spent more or less time there, attracted by the pleasures which the capital offered, or for the sake of study, or business of any kind, particularly cases at court, or in the employ of the government or in military service. The imperial guard of the Prætorians, numbering nine or ten thousand men, was recruited, for the most part, from Italy. Its life was made attractive by the larger pay received and the shorter service required. The police force of Rome, numbering some three thousand, was similarly re-

[1] Blümner, *Gewerbliche Thätigkeit d. Völker d. Klass. Altert., dritter Abschnitt*, §§ 19–23.

cruited in Italy. Her youth, when capable of bearing arms, eagerly sought to enter the one or the other of these honorable and brilliant fields of service. When Severus reorganized the guard by including the veterans of the legions, a large part of the youth of Italy took up the career of the gladiator or the bandit.[1] The ambitious and talented flocked to Rome from all quarters of Italy in order to make their fortunes in any of the numerous callings open to them there, and many succeeded in reaching high positions. Men from the municipalities were continually elevated to the equestrian, and even to the senatorial rank. In the latter case they broke connection with the societies of their native city, since the first rank in the empire, that of Roman senator, was limited to the capital city exclusively. The equites who remained in their native towns, were, as has been said, the foremost and most eminent there; but many of them left their homes forever, in order to rise from one important position to another in imperial service or in the army, either in Rome or in the provinces. That each city was proud of eminent men whom it had produced goes without saying. Cicero states that "even the hills and fields of Arpinum" rejoiced in the brilliant career of himself and his brother; if one met an Arpinate, he was sure to hear something about Marius, possibly about

[1] Friedl., I. 372–376.

Cicero.[1] And this is still the case, for every inhabitant knows the names of the two, the houses in which they were born are pointed out, and their busts adorn the city hall. No city in the ancient world, certainly, failed to erect statues to those of its citizens of whom it could be proud. Thus, Herculaneum honored the family of Nonius Balbus. But, on the other hand, those of the rural aristocracy, whether knights or senators, who had met with success in Rome, evinced their attachment to their native towns by making various gifts. The two brothers Stertinius, who had acquired wealth in Rome as physicians to the emperor and in their general medical practice, applied it to extensive building, in beautifying their native city, Naples.[2] We have spoken of certain gifts made by the younger Pliny to Como, his native town. He presented it also with a fund for the support of freeborn boys and girls, and bequeathed another for the erection, equipment and maintenance of thermæ; with the interest of a third, amounting to more than $6,000, one hundred of his freedmen were to be cared for during their lives, and after their death an annual festival was to be provided for the entire population.[3] In the reign of Trajan a very distinguished lady, Ummidia Quadratilla, died in the eightieth year of her age, in her native town

[1] Cicero, *Pro Plancio*, 8, 19. [2] Friedl., I. 130, 4.
[3] Mommsen, *Hermes*, III. 102; Friedl., I. 252.

Casinum (the modern San Germano) below Monte Cassino; a short inscription found there announces that she built for the city a temple and an amphitheater. The ruins of the latter are still to be seen.[1]

Men of the two upper classes maintained a continual relation with their native towns by assuming for themselves and their successors the obligation of representing the city, and possibly even individual citizens, as their *patrons* or attorneys in cases at law and otherwise, and in general by looking out for their best interests in every way.[2] Any eminent members of the community, particularly primipilarii, could become patrons, or attorneys; but the honor was, as a rule, given to knights and senators, though in no instance were any excluded who were closely related to the city by birth or family connection. The list of senators of Canossa, mentioned on page 16, gives, before the list of decuriones, the names of thirty-nine patrons of the city, of whom thirty-one were senators and eight knights. It goes without mention that every city sought to secure its influential friends in upper circles in Rome, particularly at court and in the senate. How zealous people were, as a rule, to satisfy every whim of a senator is shown by the fact that in Trajan's reign, Aquilius Regulus, a very rich and influential senator, sent to the cities

[1] Orelli, 781; Friedl., III. 205. [2] Marquardt, *Privatl.*, I. 202.

of Italy and the provinces one thousand copies of an obituary note, which he had composed in memory of a young son of his, with instructions to the decuriones to see that it was read in public by a herald gifted with a specially good voice, whom they were to select from their midst. The order was obeyed.[1]

It is only rarely and incidentally that Roman authors speak of the cities of Italy. We know, however, that conditions there gave the Romans plenty of material for burlesque. In the older Roman plays the country gentry were often represented on the stage. Unfortunately we have only the names of such plays as the *Women of Brindisi*, the *Lady of Sezza*, the *Lady of Velletri*. The strutting dignity and importance of municipal officials is often derided, — for example, the severe bearing and freezing manner with which an ædile of Arezzo ordered the false measure of a tradesman to be broken, or another ordered his attendants to stamp upon a mess of fish for which too high a price was asked.[2] Occasionally we are told that petty jealousies and meannesses were felt more keenly in the intimacy and closeness of rural life than in the great metropolis.[3]

[1] Pliny, *Epistulæ*, 4, 7, 2.

[2] Persius, I. 129; Juvenal, X. 100; Horace, *Satiræ*, I. 5, 34; Apuleius, *Metamorph.*, I. 24 f.

[3] Martial, *XII. præfatio.*

On the other hand, it was conceded that in the rural towns one could find more virtue, decency and good breeding than in the capital. In very good repute in this regard stood the cities of Lombardy, especially Padua and Brescia.[1] For the relaxation, quiet and inexpensiveness of a small city, many sighed who were specially sensitive to the shady side of the galling, expensive and strenuous life of Rome. In a small place one could live luxuriously on slender means.[2] There he ate from dishes of pottery, clad himself in a coarse blue-hooded mantle; there perhaps once in two weeks he put on the burdensome and expensive toga of a Roman citizen, which by many was worn for the first time when they were stretched upon the bier. A dinner gown often lasted ten years. When an oft-repeated ghost-play was presented in some small city on festival days, in the grass-grown theater, and country children buried themselves in their mothers' bosoms in terror at the white masks and huge mouths of the goblins eager for children's blood, then senators and people could be seen in the same attire, and even the mighty ædiles were content with the white tunic on such days.[3] In Capua, in Naples, one could divide his time between

[1] Pliny, *Epistulæ*, I. 14, 4; Martial, XI. 16, 8; Tacitus, *Annales*, XVI. 5: sed qui remotis e municipiis severaque adhuc et antiqui moris retinente Italia . . . advenerant, etc.

[2] Martial, IV. 66.

[3] Juvenal, III. 168 ff.

work and relaxation, undisturbed by burdensome distractions and obligations.[1] In Præneste, Volsinii, and other places of beautiful situation, it was not necessary, as in Rome, to live in wretchedly constructed apartments, ever threatening to tumble down, whence there was no chance to escape in case of fire. There, or in Sora or in Frusino, a fine house might be bought at a price which in Rome one paid as the yearly lease for gloomy quarters. He could raise his cabbage in his own little garden, watered from a well-flowing spring. It was, after all, something to be able to name a little piece of land one's own, no matter in what quarter of the world, though it might be big enough to accommodate only a lizard. For such reasons does Juvenal's friend, of whom he gives us a picture in a satire composed in the last years of Trajan's reign, finally settle down in what was then the still and lonely Cumæ, after finding that life in the great metropolis had become unendurable.[2]

[1] Cass. Dio LXXVI. 2; Statius, *Silvæ*, III. 5, 78 ff.
[2] Juvenal, III. 190 ff., 223 ff.

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